UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2562nd MEETING: 9 NOVEMBER 1984

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2562)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Letter dated 9 November 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16825)	1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/...) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2562nd MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 9 November 1984, at 8 p.m.

President: Mr. LING Qing (China).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2562)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 9 November 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16825)

The meeting was called to order at 8.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 9 November 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16825)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Chinese*]: The Council is meeting today in response to the request contained in the letter dated 9 November 1984 from the representative of Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council [*S/16825*]. Members of the Council also have before them documents S/16823 and S/16824, containing the texts of two letters dated 8 November 1984 from the representative of Nicaragua to the Secretary-General.

2. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I wish to begin my statement this evening by expressing my regret that the Permanent Representative of the United States is not present, as we had been promised. It was on her account that this meeting was postponed to this late hour. We are sure her representatives here will be able to pass on to her our concerns and our denunciations, as she plays a major role in the aggressive and militaristic political decision-making process of the current United States Administration.

3. Sir, allow me to congratulate you on presiding over the Security Council this month. Your wisdom and diplomatic skill will contribute to the success of our work. You represent a country which, like my own, defends the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the right to self-determination of peoples. This guarantees that, under you leadership, the Council will consider objectively and impartially the grave situation that has obliged my Government, for the umpteenth time, to come before this supreme body. Allow me also to congratulate Mr. Bassole of Burkina Faso, whose intelligence and dedication brought honour last month to its young revolution.

4. Just over one year ago, in fact on 25 October 1983, this Council met at my country's request [*2487th meeting*] to consider the serious events that terminated the political independence and sovereignty of the tiny revolutionary Grenada of the unforgettable Maurice Bishop. The military intervention carried out by the United States was preceded by a series of military preparations that were not missed by political observers.

5. Eighteen hours prior to the invasion, two United States warships were to be found cruising approximately 15 kilometers off the coasts of Grenada. Even earlier, some months in advance, the Ocean Venture 81 and Ocean Venture 82 manoeuvres took place, with the inclusion of the Amber and Amberines manoeuvres that included simulated invasions of the island of Vieques. Similarly, weeks before the Marines landed, the hospitals of Fort Bragg, the operations base of the 82nd Airborne Division, had received orders to accept no wounded. The President of the United States on that occasion used a series of arguments to justify, after the facts, that invasion that was more like a reprisal for the defeat suffered by the United States forces in Lebanon. All the arguments were either inconsistent or simply false. We must emphasize, for its relevance to this debate, the reference to the fact that in Grenada an airport of excessive proportions was being built where powerful aircraft would be able to take off and land and, in addition to that, that many tons of modern, sophisticated Soviet weapons were to be found there. This fact implied a grave weapons imbalance with respect to the neighbouring countries and a threat to the security of the United States. Later it turned out that this arsenal of powerful Soviet weapons amounted to a few thousand antiquated, rusty guns, as was fully confirmed by the United States press; subsequently it also turned out, as we can see today in the film taken by American television in occupied Grenada, that the United States occupying troops are finishing the building of that same

airport, with the same proportions as originally planned and which will bring—they now say—great benefits to Grenada through tourism.

6. Here we see a series of coincidences that cannot be concealed. We have seen the facts as they have developed in the last few days. This time I shall not refer to the other serious violations that have taken place since the previous meeting of the Security Council on this matter [*2557th meeting*], just two months ago.

7. On 31 October, my Government publicly denounced the fact that between 9 a.m. and noon there had been further violations of our airspace by aircraft that had not yet been identified. The violations of our airspace followed two particular routes: the first in the Jalapa-Valle Limón and Teotecacinte sectors, and the second in the Ocotal, Somoto and Dipilto sectors. The violations were accompanied by loud explosions, and immediately afterwards our military authorities were able to determine that it was a United States SR-71 aircraft, highly sophisticated and especially designed for espionage operations. Here it is worth recalling that this aircraft has replaced the very famous U-2 spy plane previously used by the American armed forces.

8. On 7 November another SR-71 aircraft again violated our airspace, between 8.20 a.m. and 8.30 a.m. This time the aircraft entered over Chinandega department and flew over the departments of León, Managua, Masaya and Bluefields, leaving our national territory in the El Bluff area. That same day, between 10 and 11 a.m., a merchant ship flying the Soviet flag and sailing in our territorial waters just 7 miles off the port of Corinto on the Pacific coast, was pursued by two United States Navy frigates, as was confirmed by a Nicaraguan Vedette patrol boat of French manufacture. Immediately after the entry of the merchant ship into the port of Corinto, the United States frigates were stationed approximately six miles from the Nicaraguan coast. Simultaneously with these events, a C-130 aircraft, whose insignia could not be identified, overflew the same sector from north to south towards the area in which the frigates lay. In these circumstances, and in view of this inadmissible violation of Nicaraguan airspace, the details of national air defence opened preventive fire on that aircraft. I wonder what would have happened if those shots had hit their target. Perhaps that would have served as the pretext the United States was looking for to intervene in Nicaragua. At this point, the United States frigates retired to within 10 miles of our coasts, where they still remain.

9. These facts, which have been denounced in notes of protest addressed to the Government of the United States and which represent extremely grave violations and provocations, the gravity of whose results are unforeseeable, have been compounded by a further violation of our airspace carried out this very day by another SR-71 aircraft. This time, the so-called "Blackbird" penetrated our airspace from the north through Cinco Pinos, travelling down into the departments of Masaya and Carazo, then turned to the west to the department of Chontales and departed from our territory through Laguna de Perlas. This fresh violation took place at approximately 8.15 this morning.

10. During the night of 6 November, when the people of the United States were learning the results of the elections in this country—a mandate which we see as being a mandate to govern this country and not to meddle and interfere in the affairs of peoples of other nations of the world—the CBS television network reported statements made by high-ranking United States officials to the effect that a Soviet vessel was making its way towards Nicaragua and that it might be carrying MiG-21 fighter planes. These high-ranking officials warned that "if the Reagan Administration were to verify the fact that ships were carrying such aircraft towards Nicaragua it might consider a surprise attack to destroy them". The report also said that the ship in question had set out from a port on the Black Sea in September and that photographs taken by satellite showed that when the vessel was being loaded a dozen crates similar to those used for transporting MiG-21s disappeared from the wharf.

11. On that same day, a report by the NBC television network stated that a Bulgarian vessel which was unloading in El Bluff, a port on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, carried MI-2 helicopters. NBC also quoted Pentagon officials who stated that the helicopters would be "more dangerous for the region than the MiG-21s". That same night, the spokesman of the Department of State, John Hughes, speaking about these confused reports, said:

> "The reason for concern here is that if Nicaragua acquired weapons superior to those of its neighbours this would have a demoralizing effect on its neighbours and would destabilize them."
>
> "I do not believe," added Mr. Hughes, "that it is necessary to have proof that there are such weapons on any one particular ship for us to continue to feel concerned."

12. The same day also, Larry Speakes, spokesman for the White House, stated that, if the information given by the press on the alleged dispatch of MiGs or advanced helicopters to Nicaragua was correct, it would be "an extreme escalation of the situation in Nicaragua which the United States could not tolerate". President Reagan himself, adding to these threatening and totally unfounded statements, said, "I cannot comment on what we might do."

13. To this chorus of serious threats based on unfounded and controversial suppositions, the representative of the United States in this important body added her voice a few days ago, affirming that the Nicaraguan problem would be resolved three months after the elections.

14. At the height of the threats and the confusion, yesterday one of the television networks revealed that President Reagan, from his ranch in California where he is resting, stated that he "would use all his emergency powers, as in the Iranian crisis", against Nicaragua. According to the television reporters, Reagan made these declarations asserting that Nicaragua was acquiring for its defence "SAM ground-to-air missiles".

15. What, then, does the United States consider to be a threat to its national security? Is it MiG-21s, MI-2 helicopters, SAM ground-to-air missiles, T-55 tanks, Vedette patrol boats, hand grenades, AK-47, FAL and M-16 rifles, the contact bombs used by the heroic indigenous people of Monimbó to overthrow Somoza, or perhaps the stones from our roads which we will also use again to expel the invader.

16. What criteria are used by the Reagan Administration to determine what quantity and what type of weaponry would disturb the military balance in the region? And by what criteria should the aggressor impose on the people against which its aggression is directed the methods with which that people must defend itself against aggression?

17. Is not all of this perhaps a smokescreen thrown up to draw a veil, for example, over our own successful elections, the discussion of the Central Intelligence Agency's manual concerning assassination of our people, the acceptance by President Reagan and the National Security Council of an "effective blockade of Contadora", the introduction by the United States of sophisticated helicopters and F-5 fighter planes with advanced technology in Central America, the millions of dollars of military expenditure in the region and the permanent presence of its troops and ships on the territory and in the waters of Central America?

18. So we see with concern the recent announcements made in the press about new military mobilizations in the region, where the greatest Power in the world has begun to deploy a part of its own great strength.

19. The Pentagon announced today the beginning of military and naval manoeuvres of the Central American countries supported, of course, by American advisers in the Gulf of Fonseca, opposite the Honduran port of Amapala and the Salvadorian anchorage at La Union. In these 11-day manoeuvres, forces of the United States Navy and 17 warships will take part. The manoeuvres are the third in a series of exercises known as "The King's Guard".

20. At the same time as the United States is carrying out these exercises, it is also participating in simulated warfare in the Caribbean Sea in which 25 warships are taking part, including the famous *Iowa*, a number of cruisers, a group of destroyers, frigates, minesweepers, auxiliary vessels, an armaments vessel and two attack submarines.

21. These articles appeared in the American press and reflect intense activity at a naval station 45 miles from San Juan, the capital of Puerto Rico.

22. We also have reports about a state of alert at Fort Bragg in North Carolina, where the celebrated 82nd Airborne Division of the United States Army is stationed. We recall that that Division led the invasion of Grenada. We recall also that, as in the case of the decision taken on that occasion, the hospitals of that military base reported to the city more than a week ago that they were not capable of providing medical services to it. There are also reports that the 101st Parachute Division, located at a military base in Kentucky, has been shifted to Georgia, from a hinterland state to a coastal state.

23. It is significant that all of this, according to sources of the Defense Department and spokesmen of the United States Army, was not announced in the customary manner, because on this occasion those military mobilizations were not under the control of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

24. I cannot understand how it is possible that things of this sort should happen in a country like the United States in this day and age.

25. All these military actions, the threatening statements of members of the Reagan Administration, including the President himself, and the acts of aggression of which we are victims every day and which are being stepped up—all of these things lead us to fear constantly a United States military intervention, and even more so in present circumstances.

26. Just in case there are any doubts persisting, I shall quote a few statements and fragmentary remarks recently made by a retired Admiral, Gene R. La Rocque, Director of the Center for Defense Information, in a programme of the Fund for Peace in New York. Mr. La Rocque pointed out that:

> "From a purely military point of view, mid-November would be ideal for taking United States troops into Nicaragua. Militarily, everything is set up; the plans are made and the troops are trained. All the President has to do is issue the order and United States troops will go into action.
>
> "Notification to Congress can be delayed because Congress will not be in session and will not have organized its business until mid-February. By the time Congress eventually gets involved, it will all be over except the period of occupation.
>
> "The two years of intensive exercises in Central America have familiarized the personnel and their commanders with the terrain and the coastal waters. United States forces would enter Nicaragua simultaneously in a massive orchestrated manoeuvre by sea, land and air.

"Support for the President can be anticipated because, even if only at the beginning, Americans have traditionally supported their President whenever he has sent United States forces into foreign countries. Even those Americans who might be expected to speak out loudly against the invasion of mid-November would be too busy with their preparations for Thanksgiving and Christmas to form an effective body voicing their concern. On the other hand, it is possible that some of our friends in Latin America, Europe and Asia may be vehemently opposed, but they would have no effect.

"The United States would have to commit thousands or tens of thousands of troops in an occupying force for an indefinite number of years. The deeper the United States got involved and the more casualties it suffered, the more the public and Congress would confront Mr. Reagan."

We can recall the United States occupation of Viet Nam in this respect and the reaction which occurred after years of occupation because of the caskets which were coming back containing American bodies. I continue to quote retired Admiral La Rocque:

"But Governments do strange things, as Barbara Tuchman has recently reminded us in her latest book about the whopping mistakes made by Governments. Mr. Reagan might feel that the gap between the elections and the commencement of the new session of Congress represents his last good opportunity to overthrow the Sandinists.

"We shall all have reason to be thankful if between now and Thanksgiving Day we have not invaded Nicaragua."

27. What lies hidden behind all of these facts, behind this campaign of terror, behind these threatening statements and this studied confusion typical of psychological warfare? What lies behind these violations of our sovereignty?

28. The Governing Junta of National Reconstruction, in a communiqué of 8 November, drew attention to a number of points which should be reiterated on this occasion and which clearly set forth the position of my Government on the grave situation of aggression which we are denouncing, and how it began.

29. First, these threats against Nicaragua, which include the announcement of the bombing of our territory, are part of the overt policy of aggression which the present United States Government has been conducting against Nicaragua.

30. Secondly, one is struck by the fact that on the night of 6 November, when the American press was reporting the election results, the United States Administration began making emphatic statements and leaking information from the Pentagon and the State Department about ships allegedly taking MiGs on board and sailing for Nicaraguan ports.

31. Thirdly, information of this kind is part of the general atmosphere of aggression against Nicaragua, which has been intensified in recent weeks, especially since the SR-71 spy flights and the report by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs (Americas) in connection with preparations to put into action in Central America the 82nd Airborne Division, which carried out the invasion of Grenada.

32. Fourthly, these facts and this information confirm our fears that significant measures of aggression are now being prepared by the United States Government against Nicaragua as a way of seeking to discredit the overwhelming success it has had in the development of the democratic process in Nicaragua as indicated in the recent elections, on 4 November, which were characterized by broad and free popular participation. I must add that the final results—in contrast to the position in countries like the United States which proclaim themselves champions of democracy—show that 80 per cent of the citizens registered and voted. These facts and these reports confirm the complaint made by Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra in the General Assembly,[1] at the close of the electoral campaign in Nicaragua, concerning the imminence of direct military aggression against our country.

33. Fifthly, the Government of Nicaragua categorically declares that it is false to assert that any ship of any nationality is transporting fighter aircraft to Nicaraguan ports. We declare that no aircraft of that sort has been unloaded. All this information that the United States Government has been leaking is designed to prepare the climate for a direct military attack against our territory and establish conditions conducive to the participation of United States troops in large-scale aggression.

34. Sixthly, the Government of Nicaragua denounces these manoeuvres and this manipulation of public opinion and is warning the Nicaraguan people to be prepared to respond to our Government's call for the mobilization necessary to defend our country, in view of the gravity of these events.

35. I wish to point out that yesterday 20,000 young Nicaraguans were mobilized in the northern provinces of the country to join in productive work and help in the harvesting of coffee, which constitutes a large part of our country's foreign currency earnings. Because of the general threatening situation and the imminent possibility of a United States invasion, our revolutionary Government decided yesterday afternoon that despite the fact that the coffee could not be harvested, those young persons would not be moved to the north, because their presence would be required for the defence of Managua itself if a United States invasion of our country occurred.

36. For reasons which are readily understandable, Nicaragua has fully supported the efforts of the Contadora Group, which since January last year has done its utmost to bring about agreement among the Central American countries leading to peace in Central America. I say "for reasons which are readily understandable", because the Nicaraguan people is a people that has suffered, it is a people that has struggled, it is a people that has borne the consequences of a war of liberation, and it is a people that has experienced 45 years of the Somozist dynasty, imposed upon it and sustained by various United States Administrations. Consequently, it is a peace-loving people, unlike other peoples that have not suffered wars on their own territories.

37. Just as Nicaragua has supported the efforts of the Contadora Group, so it has made very clear its position that it is more necessary than ever before for the United States to commit itself seriously to peace in the region. The United States Government has responded to our calls for peace by carrying out actions designed to block that initiative and stepping up the acts of aggression against my country. It has not relaxed for a single moment its determination to overthrow the Government of Nicaragua.

38. However, it would be naive to believe that the United States Government is deceiving itself and that therein lies the explanation for its constant violations of international law and its policy of State terrorism. On the contrary, aware of the illegality of its aggression against Nicaragua and of the fact that the international community repudiates its aggressive actions, the United States Government has decided to put on sheep's clothing, pretending to support the Contadora diplomacy and opening direct negotiations with Nicaragua at the prompting of one of the members of that negotiating group. Obviously, one does not have to be a perspicacious observer to understand the true intentions of the United States and its consequent actions.

39. On various occasions we have complained in the Council and in the General Assembly about the policy of double standards of the present United States Administration. Today we do so once again as we observe the consequences of the so-called constructive observations on the Contadora Act, the real objective of which was expressed in the secret report of the meeting of the United States National Security Council, a meeting attended by the President himself. The report was summarized in an article by Alma Guillermo-Prieto and David Hoffman in *The Washington Post* of 6 November under the heading "United States Memo: Latin pact effectively blocked". The article clearly shows that the Reagan Administration never had any serious intentions with regard to Contadora and does not have any such intentions now. Consequently it has never seriously entertained the notion of a negotiated political solution, but indeed is delighted to have succeeded in "effectively blocking" that process, so that it can satisfy its desire for a military solution to the problems of Central America.

40. We have had countless calls from representatives of other countries, from American friends, from journalists throughout the world, all of them asking the same questions: what does Nicaragua expect from the Security Council? Why does Nicaragua turn to the Council knowing that the United States has the veto power? To all of them we have made the same reply: we have come here because this is the highest organ in the entire international legal order charged with the defence of international peace and security, and because we believe that in situations like the one which we are now facing here, the Council is obliged to take appropriate measures to guarantee the purposes of the Charter.

41. We have come here to denounce this entire campaign of lies. We have come here to unmask yet again those who have for a long time now been determined to destroy us and who do not believe in peaceful, diplomatic solutions because their whole language is that of gunboats. We have come here to affirm the sacred right to self-defence, which is legitimately ours. We have come here because our conviction about the courage and patriotism with which our people will defend their sovereignty, their dignity and their independence is the same as our conviction about peace, justice and international law. That is why we have come to the United Nations. That is why we have come to the Security Council.

42. Mr. SCHIFTER (United States of America): I too should like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, upon your election as President of the Security Council for the month of November. I should like to extend also, on behalf of our delegation, our thanks to the representative of Burkina Faso for the manner in which he handled the presidency of the Council during the month of October.

43. I sincerely regret that Mrs. Kirkpatrick was unable to rearrange her pressing schedule to be here tonight. At the same time, I should like to make it clear that, in fairness to all members of the Council, members should call for meetings only after reasonable notice is afforded to other members, unless there is an emergency requiring immediate action. No such emergency requiring immediate action exists tonight. Insistence that a meeting take place forthwith thus constituted a misuse of the process of the Council.

44. If I understood the representative of Nicaragua correctly, he was telling us in his introductory remarks that the United States rescue mission overthrew the Maurice Bishop revolution. This statement suggests that Nicaragua is far on its road to the state of society against which George Orwell warned in his book *1984*. In that book, it will be recalled, he suggested the existence of a memory hole into which clippings of old newspapers would be dropped when history was rewritten retroactively. Lest we forget, let me remind everyone concerned that Maurice Bishop had been murdered and that his murderers were trying to assert

authority on Grenada when the troop contingents which restored civil order and freedom landed on the island.

45. This meeting is still another occasion, closely resembling more than half a dozen others, on which the Council convenes at the urgent insistence of Nicaragua to deal with an invented threat of invasion which is alleged to emanate from the United States. Let us recall that the next to the last announcement of a planned invasion came from the head of Nicaragua's military Junta, when, speaking to the General Assembly in full military regalia, he predicted an invasion of his country by 15 October. Well, 15 October came and went, as most of us knew it would, without that prediction coming true. So now, with 15 November approaching, we are being treated to another prediction, another potential media event—perhaps with the idea of establishing a pattern of calling for consideration of this issue at regular monthly intervals.

46. Let me state clearly and simply that what was true of the alleged 15 October threat of invasion is equally true of the allegation which is being advanced against the United States this evening. It is totally without foundation.

47. Let me say at this point that, in case there is any doubt, Retired Admiral La Rocque, who has been quoted at such length by the representative of Nicaragua, is not an authorized spokesman for the Government of the United States. I would add: on the contrary.

48. Having thus dealt with the substance of the complaint, let me say a few words about the procedure here employed. Under the provisions of Chapter VI, Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations, an effort should be made prior to bringing a dispute before the Security Council to exhaust certain other named remedies, including—to quote from the Charter—"resort to regional agencies". In the case of the Americas, such a regional agency exists. It is the Organization of American States, whose jurisdiction should be invoked in the first instance.

49. Having just heard in detail the allegations which Nicaragua has chosen to make against my country, I should like to say that we obviously need time to prepare a sufficiently detailed response. At this juncture, I shall observe merely that it is indeed ironic that a Government which has deliberately chosen to engage in the process of militarizing its country, whose own military buildup does indeed constitute a serious threat to its immediate neighbours in the region, should be coming to the Council with a totally unfounded claim that it considers itself militarily threatened. As I said at the outset, so such threat exists. In fact, there is a close parallel between the contentions advanced here tonight and the recent elections in Nicaragua—for they both lack credibility.

50. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Chinese*]: The representative of Nicaragua wishes to speak and I now call on him.

51. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I also shall be very brief; I do not want to take up more of the Council's time, especially since, as I noted in my first statement, we unfortunately had to delay this meeting for reasons that, in fact, did not come to any fruition.

52. The representative of the United States has said, among other things, that we constantly have recourse to the Security Council, and that we do so for no justifiable reason, without there being any factors that really constitute a genuine threat to international peace and security.

53. I should like to ask the representative of the United States whether he reads the American press. I shall not ask him whether he reads the Nicaraguan press, but does he read the daily press here, and the magazines? Does he watch television or hear the radio news? From these we get constant, incessant information, public information, confirmed by American press sources, telling of constant belligerent activity and an increasing American military presence.

54. If this is not a matter for concern for a small country like Nicaragua, if this is not a cause for concern for a non-aligned country like Nicaragua—which is enduring a war of aggression for the pursuing of which funding is openly requested in the United States Congress—I should like him to tell us what should be a cause for concern, and whether indeed the United States itself would not be concerned if it was suffering a situation similar to that which we are experiencing at its hands.

55. Here I want to make a particular point, because it is the second time a representative of the United States has referred to the fact that the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta, Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega Saavedra, appeared before the General Assembly recently in full military uniform. I really do not know how the representative of the United States expects the leader of a country such as Nicaragua to dress—a person who is Commander of the Revolution, precisely because he participated heroically and valiantly in a war of liberation by which the Somoza dynasty was brought to an end. I could tell him in the same sarcastic tone as he used that we have seen—and I personally have seen—the President of the United States in his Hollywood B-movie cowboy costume.

56. The United States representative also spoke of the credibility of our elections. I do not know how the United States dares to speak of the credibility of our elections, when it is well known that the Nicaraguan people have just made a massive effort of broad popular participation. I have said that 80 per cent of the electorate voted, despite the United States war of aggression and despite the meddling of the United States in the internal affairs of Nicaragua, persuading certain political parties to abstain, using funds provided by the United States Government. I do not know how the

United States dares to speak of lack of credibility, when in spite of the war, in spite of the acts of political interference, 80 per cent of the population took part freely in elections and for the first time in history elected a government in Nicaragua. All of this was clearly seen and confirmed by observers from Latin America, Europe, Africa, Asia and elsewhere.

57. I should like to refresh his memory. We, at least, feel satisfaction that 80 per cent of registered voters voted, and that the Sandinist National Liberation Front, which the United States seeks to overthrow, has won an overwhelming victory—67 per cent of the vote—while in the United States approximately 58 per cent of eligible citizens voted, and President Reagan was elected by a similar percentage of those. Who has the greater popular support if we look at the figures—someone elected by a small percentage of voters or someone elected by a massive popular vote in a country suffering the effects of a war of aggression?

58. The representative of the United States also referred to what he described as the "rescue operation" in Grenada. I do not know who it rescued. Supposedly it was the American citizens then present on the tiny island of Grenada. But the dean of the university where students were studying medicine himself said clearly that the students were in no danger, quite apart from the internal situation, and that therefore the action, which violated elementary norms of international law, in which the United States invaded a sovereign and independent State, was unjustified and that there was not the least reason for it, quite apart from whatever internal problems the island had.

59. I wish to be brief, but I would state for the benefit of the representative of the United States that perhaps his country would wish us to resort to the regional organization, the Organization of American States. But I beg him not to misuse the Articles of the Charter for the United States' benefit. There are other Articles in the Charter which, apart from the existence of regional bodies, guarantee any Member State the right of recourse to this highest body for guarding international peace and security when confronted with a threatening situation and experiencing aggression.

60. I know that the representatives of the United States have a predilection for the regional body for various reasons, including the historic control the United States has had in it as a logical consequence of its historic dominion in Latin America. But the Latin American peoples are waking up, and we know that sooner rather than later they will wake up fully and realize that in a regional organization such as the Latin American one, it is neither logical nor consistent that a military power such as the United States should try to impose its decisions.

61. Mr. SCHIFTER (United States of America): I shall be very brief. On the matter of election percentages, let me just say that I was thinking back to an experience in my own youth. I remember that it was 10 April 1938. I was present in Vienna when Austria decided to permit itself to be incorporated into Nazi Germany. The voter turn-out was 98 per cent and, if I remember correctly, 98 per cent of the voters then voted "Yes".

62. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Chinese*]: There are no further speakers on my list. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue its consideration of the item on its agenda will be fixed in consultation with members of the Council.

The meeting rose at 9.40 p.m.

NOTE

[1] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings*, Vol. I, 16th meeting.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الامم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الامم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع انحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب الى : الامم المتحدة ،قسم البيع في نيويورك او في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店查询或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

Litho in United Nations, New York 00300 90-61313—January 1993—2,050